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ABSTRACT

This impact study for a series of Out of School Television (OSTV--Tele Pour Tous) broadcasts on village water supplies presents a qualitative examination of some of the problems encountered in the organization of viewing groups in four selected villages. The research techniques used included questionnaires and feedback sheets on demographics, the socio-political situation, and the reception of each program, which were filled in by the official village observers; on the spot observations of the viewing groups; and individual interviews with villagers. In two villages, three successive broadcasts were directly observed and the ensuing discussion was tape recorded. For purposes of data analysis, the animation process was divided into four major areas: (1) the flow of information in the village about the broadcasts, (2) external and internal factors affecting public interest and attendance, (3) the typical operation of a single viewing session, and (4) the comprehension and acceptance of the broadcast message. It was concluded that the broadcasts were not reaching the traditional power structure in the villages, and that until the programs reach the opinion leaders or modernization permits the rise of a new parallel power structure, these broadcasts will remain a marginal force in implementing change in rural areas. (BBM)

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THE RECEPTION AND ANIMATION OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION PROGRAMS IN THE IVORY COAST: A CASE STUDY OF FOUR VILLAGES

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An English Summary*

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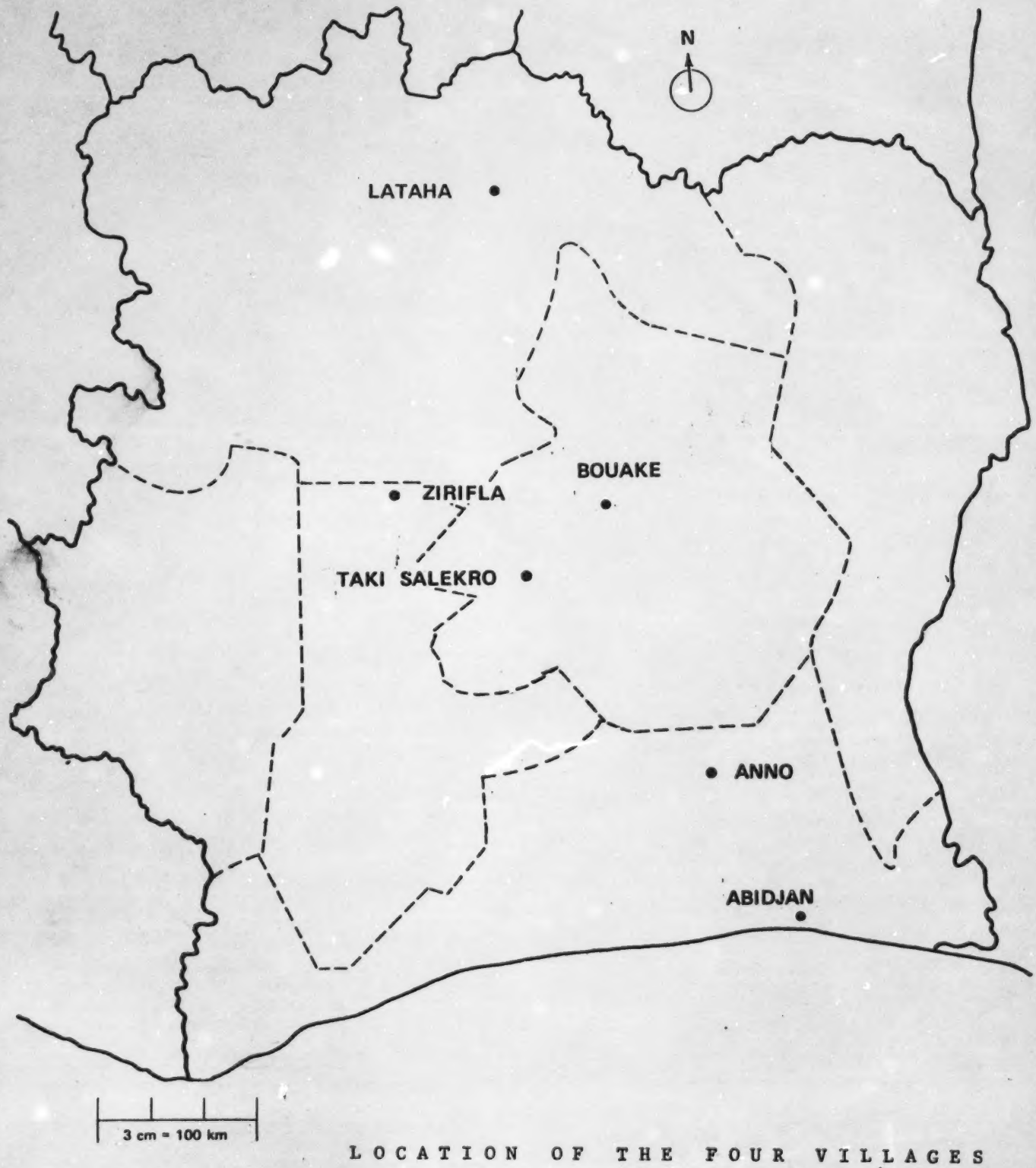

LOCATION OF THE FOUR VILLAGES

INTRODUCTION

According to its director, the underlying philosophy of the agency for Nonformal Education* in the Ivory Coast is to engage in a special education which will foster participation in the task of development by the general populace. He is quoted as characterizing the task in the following way:

> To undertake a program of education which will allow all of our people, both rural and urban, to understand the work of development and to actively participate in improving their condition and in arriving at a more equal division of economic benefits through a consciousness of their own situation, a reflection upon their own problems and a decision for communal action in work groups.

The teaching techniques of formal education in the Ivory Coast were explicitedly rejected for this task. Instead, the approach and methods of nonformal education were to be modeled after those of rural animation: a global approach to development which necessarily includes the three successive states of (1) informing the public, (2) educating the public, and (3) organizing the public for action. These three steps parallel the objectives laid down in the Ivory Coast's Five Year Plan for Economic, Social and Cultural Development 1971-1975 for involvement of the public: (1) a consciousness raising in which the people realize the need for development, (2) an acquiring by the people of the knowledge and skills needed to achieve certain developmental tasks, and (3) an active participation of people in developmental projects.

In all its various theoretical formulations, the concept of animation refers ambitiously to a total evolutionary process which encompasses all of

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* The strict translation of the French would be "Out-of-School" Education but Nonformal Education is used because it is a more generally understood term in English.

the problems of development. Difference of opinion arises, however, in just how much local control of the course of development is actually involved. At one extreme, there are those who stress the involvement of local figures in the development process from the earliest planning stages of any innovation through to its final realization. By an effort to transmit innovations via the recognized power structure of the traditional society, such formulations of animation see it as a means for local communities to really direct the course of their own development.[1] By contrast, others point to the centralized and hierarchical structure typical of so-called animation projects as in themselves contradictory to true local control. Linking the practice of animation to the political history of the implementors of such programs (i.e., a past colonial status, frequent external interventions after independence, a highly centralized and very directive government structure following independence), such theorists[2] see the mobilization of local movements implied by the former interpretation of animation as unattainable in practice. They assert that animation is defined by the political situation in which it is implemented--a situation in which centralization of resources blocks the emergence of local movements. The assumption of this latter point of view is identical to that of the present study: that animation is not a theory but rather a method of action and must be studied not as it is proposed but rather as it is carried out in a concrete setting.

Through an examination of the activities of rural animation in the Ivory Coast, the precise nature of its application in this locale will be clarified. From this base, we will look at the Program of Nonformal Educational Television as it operates in four villages. Out of these case studies, a series of recommendations aimed at increasing the effectiveness of this project by a more rigorous adherence to the methods of rural animation will be offered.

Rural Animation in the Ivory Coast

Many governmental agencies for rural development in the Ivory Coast embody the concept of rural animation to a greater or lesser degree. The activities of these agencies can be classified along five dimensions:

1. Type of intervention - from mere technical support to full-fledged persuasion campaigns;
2. Range of the program - from programs concerning a single innovation to those aiming at integrated development simultaneously affecting economic, social and cultural problems;
3. Level of operation - national, regional, or local;
4. Affected public - men, women, or children;
5. Structure of intervention - governmental agency, private association, or public demand.

Of all of those agencies which give at least lip-service to the three goals of animation, only those which are most directly linked to the Program of Nonformal Educational Television will be reviewed in the following pages. "Direct linkage" does not necessarily imply that the bureaucrats of the various agencies have any direct personal contact with one another or interdependency of action in carrying-out their respective tasks. More often than not, the work of these agencies goes on in an all too isolated fashion, as we shall see. Rather the linkage is established by the subject matter emphasized by the Program of Nonformal Education which overlaps the concerns of certain organizations, ministries, and development agencies more than others.

The Agricultural Companies* Aimed at increasing agricultural productivity, each of these agencies specializes in a single or a small number of interrelated, crop(s).[3] As such, the operation of these companies results in hodge-podge

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* Company in this context translates the French word "société" usually meaning a state enterprise.

development. The majority of them operate at the level of pure technical assistance: assuring the distribution of seeds, chemical sprays, fertilizers, and other necessary materials for the cultivation of the particular crop promoted by that agricultural company and organizing the sale of the harvested product. Development is dispensed by formula to the farmer - telling him how to farm by the new method but not why it is done. The ultimate success of these organizations can be no more than acceptance by the farmers of a new crop, a new method of production, or a new marketing technique without any real understanding of it and, moreover, without a means for the farmer to become progressively autonomous from the direction of the agricultural company. With certain exceptions,[4] the operation of such companies results in fragmented land development in absence of a concurrent development of its people.

Integrated Development Projects. By contrast to the agricultural agencies, integrated projects aim at co-ordinating all agricultural production in large geographic regions. The operation of such projects will be clarified by a look at one example: the Bandama Valley Management Project (BVMP).

The first phase of the Bandama Valley Management Project was to direct the relocation of people displaced by the rising waters behind the newly constructed Kossou dam with an eye to the rational redistribution of territory. The second phase consists of regional development. Ideally, then, the intervention of BVMP extended beyond merely establishing and constructing new villages to planning and planting gardens and plantations near these new villages, insuring the clearing of land and the installation of migrants. Moreover, the final result of the interventions was not merely to create new villages, but rather to create new "animated" villages - that is, villages which become totally self-directive. As such, the intervention was to include

a development of people as well as land: informing and educating the populace to come to grips with the reality of their situation, to decide upon a course of action and to organize themselves to carry out their plans.

The pivot of all interventions was to be the sector chief. Working in close relationship with the sector chief, the village agent from BVMP was to play a major role in guiding the village toward animation. However, if the philosophy of BVMP proposed a global development directed by the villagers themselves, in reality the activities of the project differed little from the agricultural companies mentioned above except in the scope of the attempted innovations. The village agent became little more than an intermediary--transmitting the plans of the project's directors to the village and the complaints of the villagers back to the directors. Rather than arriving at a point of self-determination via the information and education provided by the project, the villagers were set along a predetermined course of development, planned externally and aimed at recasting their entire world.

Agencies for Rural Animation. The first governmental agency explicitly given the task of rural animation was the Rural Animation Service, created by the Minister of Agriculture to support the activities of the various State Agricultural Agencies. The interventions of this service were aimed at transforming the attitudes of the rural public toward technical and economic innovations. Rural animation, as embodied by the goals of this service, took on the form of a gigantic persuasion campaign, as can be seen in the following description of the agency.

> The Rural Animation Service is conceived as an agency that services other agencies which carry technical assistance to the rural public. The task of animation is to prepare the public to accept the intervention of the other agencies, to accompany such technical assistance, and to give extended backup

> support. Its task is not to educate the public but rather to create an awareness in the public of a certain number of development themes deemed important by the government. Since the government has decided to direct the course of rural development for the public, the task of animation is to explain to the public the chosen path and to gain their support so that their evolution will follow the line set down by the government.[5]

The Rural Animation Service was later replaced by the National Office for Rural Promotion (ONPR) which was to put into practice the plan set down in the Five Year Plan for Development. With the change, rural animation was no longer conceived of as a persuasion campaign for acceptance of a few technical or economic innovations but rather as a global approach concerned with all aspects of life experienced by the rural public (men, women and children). Importance was again placed upon integration of innovations into typical village life via the use of local leadership. Unlike its predecessors, the primary task of the ONPR was seen as education. It included the development of programs of study which were to be transmitted to the public by all possible means, including the mass media. Likewise under its jurisdiction was the training of corps of "animators" who were to encourage and guide the use of these study programs by the general public. An example of this type of activity was the project called the Educational Program on Public Health: Using Potable Water, which accompanied the drilling of wells and installation of pumps in the villages. This program attempted to sensitize the public to the importance of finding and using clearer drinking water in the hopes of changing old habits that might stand in the way of taking full advantage of the new hydraulic equipment. Another component of the work of the National Office of Rural Promotion was to initiate certain activities of rural animation in cooperation with existing governmental and private institutions in the area. For example, the agency is pivotal in the establishment of Rural Banks. for Savings and Loans, both in creating in the public an awareness of the need for such a service and in actually assisting other agencies in setting up this

service.

The Cooperative Movement. Despite their colonial roots, co-ops are seen as a necessary base for rural development. Only when the rural public is organized into working groups can rural animation be realized. Via communal organizations, credit and other economic and technical supports can be efficiently extended to further agricultural development. Thus, the re-establishment of co-ops was undertaken by the National Center for the Promotion of Cooperative Enterprises (CENAPEC). The work of this agency is three fold: (1) training the staff of such cooperatives -- directors, assistant directors, accountants, secretaries, and "animators" from the local population who are already committed to the cooperative movement and who will help the local staff reach the public; (2) giving in-the-field assistance and support to the management of the village cooperatives which will serve to complete their training; and (3) establishing the National Bank of Agricultural Development which provides economic support to villages with active cooperative movements. In effect, the policy of this bank is to lend money only to those farmers who are currently affiliated with one of the State Agricultural Companies.

The Agency of Nonformal Education. Subscribing to the three fold process of rural animation of informing, training, and organizing the rural populace for action, this agency intended to provide an educational service to the total rural population by a close coordiantion of its efforts with the organizations, ministries and development agencies currently active in various areas of the country. In January 1973, the service of educational television was offered to all interested users. From the beginning it was conceived of as a collaborative effort in both the planning and operation stages with input from competent ministries and other developmental agencies insuring high quality educational content to the broadcasts and with agency fieldworkers serving alongside school teachers in the animation of reception centers. The

present research examines the implementation of this collaborative effort by a case study of four villages in which animation of nonformal educational broadcasts was attempted in the environment of existing television schools. Offered as a formative evaluation of the internal efficiency of this education project, the following report will suggest reasons for its success or failure at various points in the total rural animation process. Specifically, through a combination of direct observation and individual interviews, the public awareness of, opinions about, and reception of the broadcasts Télé pour Tous (TV For Everyone) as related to the realities of village life will be exposed.

METHODOLOGY

The Sample

The ideal research design for the present study would call for location of the villages to be observed by a stratified random sample of so-called "animated villages" which takes into account the level of development of the village, its proximity to a city, the existing level of communal organization, the acceptance of the ideology of development, the training of the animator, and the integration of the animator into village life. Similarly, identification of those individuals to be interviewed within a village would also be accomplished by a stratified random sample according to sex, age, and possibly politico-economic power within the community. The reality of the situation in the Ivory Coast, where data sources of such information are either non-existant or unreliable, precluded such an approach. The ideal research design would also call for a group of independent interviewers and/or observers--qualified to do observational or survey research in the rural areas yet not otherwise connected to the project under scrutiny. The organization of such a team was also beyond the reach of the current study. At the outset, then, a quantitative study aimed at providing generalizations regarding the overall impact of the Télé pour Tous broadcasts in particular and nonformal education in general was rejected in favor of an admittedly limited qualitative elucidation of some of the problems encountered in the organization of viewing groups in four selected villages.

These four villages were among 40 selected to participate in an impact study for a new series of broadcasts on village water supplies. The 40 villages

were those judged to have had the most active nonformal education program during the preceding broadcast season (1974-75) as assessed by the absolute number of feedback sheets returned and the absolute number of villagers attending the broadcasts. The villages were likewise selected with regard to having geographic representation from all six rural planning regions in the country. In each village, a literate adult had been designated to serve as an observer and complete feedback sheets for the impact study and a questionnaire on the socio-political situation in the village. The selection of the final four villages for the present research favored those villages (1) with the most amount of background information available, (2) where the program of nonformal education existed in combination with some other form of rural animation, and (3) with histories of development which were manifestly different from one another.

Since the study was being conducted using a qualitative case study method, it was not seen as important to select individuals to be interviewed in a totally random fashion. Care was taken to make sure that the sample for each village included school teachers, field workers for other agencies of rural development, the village chief and other notables, as well as selected individuals from the general populace. In the latter case, it was decided not to interview those villagers who were completely uninterested in Télé pour Tous. Thus, the final sample included a disproportionately high percentage of men and broadcast spectators relative to their occurrence in the overall village population. The number of people to be interviewed in each village was arbitrarily set at 50. In one of the four villages, the interviewees proved so uncooperative that only 17 of the proposed 50 interviews were actually completed.

The Research Techniques

A combination of research techniques were used to gather the data upon which the four case studies of the villages were written. The official

village observer provided demographic information, information about the socio-political situation in the village, and information about the reception of each program in the series by filling in the questionnaires and feedback sheets provided to him. While serving as a starting point for the analysis of the total animation process in the village, this information was buttressed by on the spot observations of the viewing group during actual broadcasts of Télé pour Tous and individual interviews with village residents.

The observations and interviews were conducted over a three month period between February and May 1976. In two villages, the viewing groups for two successive broadcasts of Télé pour Tous and in two villages, three successive broadcasts were directly observed and the discussions tape-recorded. In certain cases, however, it proved impossible to remain a passive observer: at least once, the observer was called upon to serve as animator in the absence of the official animator for the village and in at least one village the observer was perceived as a mediator who could carry the complaints and requests of the villagers back to the government center.

The data collected by interviewing selected individuals in each village helped to clarify the socio-cultural workings of the village and the degree to which the intervention techniques of out-of-school education mesh with them. The interview schedule explored topics such as: how much the villagers know about educational TV, about village events, about local, national and international news: by what channels of communication they obtain such information; their personal reasons for participating or not participating in the viewing group of Télé pour Tous; the rapport they have with the animator either during or outside of the Télé pour Tous sessions as well as the number and kind of exchanges they have with school teachers in general; their opinions about the organization and operation of the viewing sessions of Télé pour Tous; and specific information about the content of the broadcasts (what content, visual images, advice is remembered; how useful

such information is perceived to be). The questions were open-ended and presented orally.

The Categories of Analysis

The aim of the present study was to describe qualitatively the global animation process as it existed in four villages by assessing the approaches of nonformal education and their degree of congruence with the socio-cultural realities of the village. For purposes of directing the observations, writing interview questions and organizing the resulting data, the total animation process was subdivided into four major areas: the flow of information in the village about the Télé pour Tous broadcasts; the external and internal factors influencing public interest and attendance; the typical operation of a single Télé pour Tous broadcast and discussion; the comprehension and acceptance of the broadcast messages. For each area, care was taken to try to pinpoint the quantity and quality of effort exerted by the Télé pour Tous staff (directors and animators), the actual results of these efforts in the behavior of the public, and the external factors mediating between effort and results. The presentation of the case histories of the four villages will follow this scheme after a brief introduction to each via relevant demographic information.

CASE STUDIES OF FOUR "ANIMATED" VILLAGES

Village One: Anno

The village of Anno is located in the south-east region of the Ivory Coast in the land of the Abbey (ethno-linguistic subgroup). It is a rather large village, having a population of about 3000 people. About 20% of the residents are "outsiders" -- mostly young, single males of Dioula or Mossi origins, helping to explain the male:female ratio (56:44). The village is subdivided into four districts which line both sides of the primary road running through the village. Three of the districts correspond to the lineages of founders of the village and one, which is set off from the others by a secondary road through the village, is reserved for the homes of the outsiders. The village land has been recently rezoned into new building lots,* a process which claimed the old marketplace and quite a few houses. However, the public works department has yet to decide upon the placement of the future roads around which the development of the village will proceed. Thus, the development of the village in terms of building sanitary facilities and concrete housing is currently at a stand-still. There is a school having six classrooms at the entrance of the village. Its physical isolation from the village center parallels the sociological isolation of the school from village life.

The predominant cash crops are coffee and cacao; however the plantations are relatively young and the profits small. The unit of production is the extended family. While there is a field agent from SATMACI (the agricultural agency for coffee and cacao) present in the village, his function is primarily

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* The government has passed a law that all villages are to be rezoned into more uniform lots with streets and other modern urban facilities. Many villages have not yet been rezoned.

one of offering individual technical aid. There is also a CENAPEC (cooperative movement) staff member in the village who concentrates on group sales of coffee and cacao. However, this co-op has subdivided into two factions (outsiders and locals) and does not represent all of the farmers in the village, many of whom prefer to sell their crops on an individual basis, thereby receiving cash at the moment of the sale.

The flow of information in the village. Information regarding the beginning of the Télé pour Tous meetings was passed on to the villagers through the traditional communication system used for all news coming from outside the community. That is, word of the meetings was passed from the initial animator (the director of the school) to the village chief via the appropriate village notable, in this case, the president of the association for parents of school children. The village chief then had the town crier announce an official village meeting. While every adult resident of the village has the right to attend such a meeting, in reality only the dominant members of the community (elder, native males) typically are present. The village chief passes the news along to those in attendance and the rest of the community receives the information second-hand. This is especially true for women, who receive the news from their husbands, and outsiders, who receive such information via the chief of their district, who typically represents them at the village meetings.

In the case of the Télé pour Tous discussion sessions being proposed, this method was relatively effective in creating an awareness of the event: most people questioned knew of the existence of such a program and cited the official village meeting as the source of their information. However, information presented at this single village meeting served merely to announce the event and offered no real explanation of the scope and purpose of the program and no regular reminder prior to each broadcast. Nor was this function served

by a collaboration with field agents representing the agricultural agency and cooperative movement active in the area or with representatives of the three religious subgroups having a strong following of people in the village. Likewise, no attempt was made to provide regular invitations to the public via people serving in positions of social responsibility within the community. While the event received official sanction by the village notables, it remained an event which was isolated from all other village activities. The program never lost its character of being centrally administrated. Yet it was probably to avoid placing too much emphasis on this aspect that another important source of external information for the villagers--the radio-- was not used to advertise the Télé pour Tous programs. A full 58 percent of the total population have ready access to radio programs broadcast in their native tongue which normally means that either they themselves, or a member of their immediate family, owns a radio. Clearly, radio announcements about the occurrence of Télé pour Tous would have had a far greater impact on the political leaders of the community than the process used by the animator at Anno, i.e. sending messages home with the elementary school pupils and ringing the school bell before opening the classroom for the evening broadcasts. A potent channel of information was not employed out of concern for blocking the integration of Télé pour Tous into community life, which never occurred anyway for reasons which will be elucidated more fully in the following pages.

Factors influencing attendance at the Télé pour Tous meetings. The participation of the villagers at the Télé pour Tous sessions can be characterized as both weak and sporadic. An average attendance figure for a broadcast session was about 50 people (about 1.5 percent of the village population). Moreover, during the course of a meeting, this figure is in constant flux due to a chronic situation of late arrivals and early departures of the audience. In Anno, there is no core of villagers who regularly attend

the sessions. The typical spectator attends once or twice motivated by curiosity or purely by chance (being in the vicinity of the school around broadcast time and attracted by the activity there). Most of those attending are young, local males. Women, outsiders, and most importantly, villagers with any sort of social responsibilities or power were sorely absent. The reasons for this lack of participation by the villagers are multiple and extend beyond the mere lack of information regarding the purpose of the meetings.

From the outset it must be admitted that the hours at which Télé pour Tous programs are broadcast (8 p.m. Wednesday, or sometimes at the same hour on Fridays) are probably not the most convenient for many adults in the community. At that time of night, women are normally finishing up the daily chores. Particularly those with young children cite the broadcast time is very problematic. In all honesty, however, citing the hour of the broadcast as the reason for not attending is more likely to be an external excuse than the pivotal reason. Similarly, the death of the village chief who convened the village meeting officially sanctioning the Télé pour Tous meetings, and the lack of such an official act of sanctioning by his successor may have served as a psychological excuse for some people. More important in this village, however, was a difference in opinion between the teachers who served as animators and public as to the proper function of TV broadcasts and the open manifestation of this difference of opinion in a single incident of conflict during the first year of the broadcasts.

Predictably, public opinion generally regarded the TV programs as an end in themselves, serving a purely entertainment function. The teachers (from whom the animators of the Télé pour Tous sessions had been recruited) are trained to view television as a means of educating. Originally, the

decision to place the television receiver for the program of nonformal education in the school was predicated both on grounds of security and also that the school was really neutral ground. However, it is readily apparent that while the school enjoys a neutrality with respect to factional jealousies within the village, it actually exists as a non-integrated institution within the village boundaries which is under the jurisdiction of the teachers. The disadvantage to such an arrangment is that the villagers feel the television, the programs, and the discussions to be totally controlled by the teachers. In effect, this feeling was augmented by the policy decision of the original animator to limit the use of the set only to the Télé pour Tour broadcasts. His practice of not providing any alternative times for purely entertainment viewing (a practice later rescinded in reality but not in the minds of the villagers) and of promptly turning off the set at the end of the Télé pour Tous broadcasts eventually led to a direct confrontation with some of the village youths. After causing considerable disruption of a viewing session, the animator expelled a certain number of youths from the classroom whereupon they busied themselves by throwing stones on the school's roof. The animator reported them to the authorities; they were arrested and spent eight days in jail. The villagers interpreted the teacher's actions as an abuse of power, especially being the outsider (of Baoulé origin) that he was. While the original animator has since been replaced and the more extreme hostilities abated, a general feeling that the school is an inappropriate location for adult meetings remains. In truth, the extreme lack of integration of school teachers into the life of the community, which was found again and again in the villages observed, places severe doubt upon the practice of using them as animators for the nonformal education program. While there were few voiced objections in this village to the television medium itself as a source of information, as a means of seeing and learning about the modern world, and

as a mirror for self-reflection when viewing examples similar to one's own community, there were repeated objections to all of that having to occur in the school.

The operation of a typical broadcast session. The physical environment in which the Télé pour Tous broadcasts were viewed was very poor for an adult audience. In effect, the noisy, child-filled and poorly lit classroom with child-sized benches made viewing impossible except under conditions of strict discipline. Such strict discipline is simultaneously unfavorable to the success of mass-mediated education and offensive to the sensibilities of village adults. Instead of preparing his audience in some way to view the ensuing broadcast, the animator busied himself during the pre-broadcast time in controlling the children and ordering silence.

The animator's lack of preparation and general misunderstanding of his function also showed in that he initiated no collaboration with the field workers representing other agencies of rural animation. One broadcast which was observed concerned the operation of the co-op which was currently active in the village; yet the field agent for this agency was not present at the session. The new animator, a young teacher who spoke no Abbey and who had arrived at his new assignment in Anno only at the beginning of the school year, obviously had no real conception of the problems of the village.

Because all of the broadcasts are in French, a translation of the dialogue into the language(s) of the adults in the community should have been provided. Since the animator did not speak the predominant language of the village, this function was to have been performed by a designated translator. During the first session observed, this translator was absent: therefore, the broadcast was never translated and the discussion following the broadcast was conducted in French. At the second broadcast session observed, the translator arrived after the conclusion of the broadcast itself and served only as a mediator for the discussion. Only at the third observed

session was the translator present to do a simultanious translation into Abbey. At this session, a brief resume in Diaoula and Mossi was presented at the completion of the broadcast.

The discussions at Anno fell almost entirely into a category best described as a comprehension test. They took the form of a forced dialogue, most often with students or former students who sat in a small group near the animator. The comprehension itself was oriented in a linguistic rather than a conceptual direction; particularly when the translator was absent, it fell into a pattern of checking to see if the students understood and remembered the French vocabulary employed. To prevent a mass exodus of the audience at the end of the broadcast, the animator simply turned down the sound while leaving the visual images from the next broadcast on the screen. Even without the sound, the visuals of this American action-drama (Ironside) were enough to cause frequent emotional outbursts in the audience.

Despite cautions to the contrary during a training period to qualify as an animator, the animator at Anno imposed a strongly academic character to the Télé pour Tous sessions. Participation by the audience was limited to answering questions which had been pose by the animator. Discussion among village members themselves was regarded as disruptive. Other than the question modality, the animator relied solely upon commands ("let someone else answer;" "be quiet;" "you answer this question;" etc.). Other than in response to a question, the only time a villager spoke was to raise an accusation against the central government to explain why certain actions had not been taken in the village.

Acceptance of the televised message. On the rare occasions where the discussion led to a conceptual analysis of the model proposed by the television program, the villagers reacted with skepticism and disfavor. Either they perceived the model as inapplicable to their village situation ("How is it

possible for us to build concrete houses until the government finishes putting in the roads?") or as having failed after an initial attempt ("We tried a co-op; the management put all our funds into a truck which has since broken down and is of no use to us"). Moreover, an analysis of the socio-political realities of the Anno community show them to be in direct conflict with the integrated model of development subscribed to by nonformal education, where both men and women, young and old must play a role in the decision-making and activation for change in the community. In Anno, as in several of the other villages we shall examine, there is a correlation between political power and sex (male), wealth, and ethnic origin (native, i.e., Abbey). The subgroups represented at the Télé pour Tous meetings represent neither the totality of the population nor even the power groups within the community. No decision-making for the village could be done by the audiences attending the sessions. Thus, the acceptance or rejection of the televised message by its audience in Anno is a moot point in terms of the organization of groups for development acitivity.

Village Two: Taki Salekro

The village of Taki Salekro is situated in the central region of the country. The ethnic origin of most of the 1,605 people who live in the village is Baoulé. The male:female ratio is 46:54.Taki Salekro is one of the new villages settled under the Bandama Valley Management Project. It assembles inhabitants of two old villages who had to be relocated due to the rising waters behind the newly constructed Kossou dam. The village proper is subdivided into eight districts by a system of right-angles roads. Six of the districts represent the six lineages ("akpassoua") of the two old villages. One of the districts is reserved for outsiders, mostly Dioula; and one district assembles all people adhering to the Prostestant faith, regardless of their lineage. There is a six-room school located in the center

of the village.

Taki Salekro is built upon reclaimed forest with the result that there is a severe lack of cleared farm land for the people. The Bandama Valley Management Project tried to ease the situation by encouraging the cultivation of rice. However, the effort required to cultivate rice is much greater than that required for the cultivation of coffee or cacao and gave the farmers a much smaller profit, so the switch was not very successfully made. Likewise, the project tried to encourage the growth of an artisan community by offering apprenticeships in the cultural center built here. However, the Baoulé are primarily farmers, not craftsmen; and those villagers who do take the time to complete an apprenticeship are very likely to move to the city.

The flow of information in the village. During the first year of animation, the villagers were informed of the Télé pour Tous program via the traditional channels; the director of the school met with the village chief who convened a meeting of the district chiefs who, in turn, passed the information along to the people they represented. While the policy of both the Nonformal Education and of the Bandama Valley Management Project explicitly states that there should be collaboration with one another, this, in effect, was only achieved by the official designation of the BVMP agent as observer for the Télé pour Tous impact study. Actually, sole responsibility for alerting the public to an imminent broadcast session was assumed by the animator. No regular interpersonal channels were utilized, so that public rumor soon came to be recognized in the village as the means by which the sessions were announced. Moreover, because of the extreme divisiveness of the village, which was augmented by its physical layout, the people living in those districts closest to the village center and the village chief were always better informed than those living in the marginal districts. People living in the Protestant

district are regularly informed not by their own representative at meetings but by members of their family living in other districts. Since the village chief of Taki Salekro was the village chief of one of the two old villages regrouped here, the family of the rival chief from the other old village refuses to accept his authority. This rival chief never attends village meetings and communicates with the new village chief only via the intermediaries of other district heads.

All these factors point out the multi-stepped and highly selective flow of information which operates in this village. Many of the villagers were simply unaware of the regular Télé pour Tous meetings. The differential flow of information according to districts would have been helped somewhat by a supplemental source of information regarding the program of non-scholastic education reaching the village from the outside: namely, via radio. About 50 percent of the villagers admit ready access to this channel of communication. At least public rumor originating from a radio source would have provided a more diffuse coverage of the village than public rumor initiating from the animator.

Factors influencing attendance at the Télé pour Tous meetings. The teacher/villager relationship was better in Taki Salekro than in the other villages observed. In the first place, almost all of the teachers are of the same ethnic origin and language group as the villagers, Baoulé. Because of this and also that all of the village residents are relocated people, the teachers are well-integrated into the socio-cultural activities of the village. Teachers are even sought out to give medical and legal advice by some, though certainly not by all, of the villagers.

Similarly, the physical presence of the school is much more integrated into the village than elsewhere. The school, itself, as well as the lodgings

of the teachers and their families are harmonious with the rest of the village architecture--naturally bearing the stamp of the Bandama Valley Management Project. The villagers are more or less resigned to the school locale for the sessions of Télé pour Tous. However, there is some feeling evidenced that the television medium is being employed for adult education in the absence of a proper means for educating the adult community

The broadcast meetings at Taki Salekro are different from the other three villages studied in that here the animator tried to establish a regular group of viewers. This was done by hand-picking those viewers who evidenced an interest in the broadcasts and discussions for their educational benefit and selectively inviting them to attend week after week. This allowed the animator to have some control over who entered the classroom and when they entered on the night of the Télé pour Tous broadcasts. In compensation for those who were excluded, the animator opened the classroom on Saturdays to allow the people to use the television purely for entertainment purposes. Nevertheless, the practice of monitoring the attendance was misunderstood by some villagers who insinuated that ethnic considerations determined the selection process. And while the animator succeeded in assembling a more or less regular viewing group, it contained not one village authority from either the traditional or modern sectors.

The operation of a typical broadcast session. Since the animator instituted the policy of controlling attendance at the Télé pour Tous sessions, the children were consistently chased from the classroom. In reaction, they set up an incessant disturbance outside the classroom. Such unruly behavior, completely antithetical to their typical behavior at school, probably indicates a general public view that the braodcasts are leisure time activity (and thus not subject to normal rules of decorum). Such confusion could arise merely because the Télé pour Tous broadcasts are sandwiched between two

entertainment programs in the evening schedule.

The animator had obviously studied the documents sent to him. He followed the instructions for running the discussion to the letter. However, he failed to relate the content of the broadcasts by adapting it to the village situation. Thus, the suggested questions provided in the documents were faithfully asked, despite their lack of relevance to the discussants. Naturally, the discussion of the import of the modeled innovation to village life never really got off the ground and instead centered around comprehension of the presented content in the abstract. There was still some remnant of a pupil-teacher relationship in the conduct of the discussion sessions. The animator slipped into the imperative mode, the participants raised their hands and had to be recognized by the animator before talking, and there was a very little exchange among the audience members themselves unmediated by the animator.

Acceptance of the televised message. Because the animator conducted the comprehension check properly, understanding of the broadcast message itself was quite high. However, the discussions did not result in any decision-making for several reasons. In the first place, the content of the broadcasts which were observed for the present research project concerned renovation of rural habitats, a topic which had little relevance to the residents of a newly constructed village. Since the animator faithfully followed the suggestions given in his instructions, the course of the discussion centered around construction problems. The social problems causing their recent move to the village were salient in the minds of discussants and yet these were never brought up at the meetings but only mentioned during the course of the individual interviews. Thus, there was no evidence of the villagers applying the broadcasts in any way to the realities of their daily life. Moreover, when the visual illustrations in the broadcasts did not conform to the realities of their own situation, the villagers tended to fault the programs

for showing only the evil ways of other ethnic subgroups. This desire to see oneself in the broadcasts and becoming rapidly impatient with portrayals of other ethnic groups poses an insurmountable problem for a country where so many ethnic groups exist. Whenever the ethnic subgroup serving as the illustrative material is not their own, the villagers tend to immediately reject the content of the broadcasts as not refering to themselves. Finally, the context of the television sessions did not reproduce the conditions which are necessary for reaching a social decision in the Baoulé culture. In this ethnic group, decision-making is accomplished by the elders of each family line. They discuss any action among themselves until they reach complete unanimity of opinion. The other existing groups--for purposes of work, recreation, or sports--are not really socio-political institutions having any power in the community. It was this type of group of young adult males which formed the regular core of participants at the Télé pour Tous meetings.

Village Three: Lataha

Lataha is located in the northern region of the Ivory Coast. It has a popuation of 1,900, with a male:female ratio of 47:53. There is some emigration of young, adult males toward the south. There are 16 Senoufo families represented in this village which is divided into 16 districts. A separate Diaoula village has been built nearby which shares the same public facilities: wells, school of five classrooms, and seasonal marketplace. While the village has been subdivided into building lots, very few concrete houses have as yet been built. The villagers nevertheless express interest in renovation of their dwellings and in the construction of a health clinic--if the government sends the work force here to do it.

The major cash crop is rice. The agricultural agency SODERIZ assumes

responsibility for the cultivation of rice in the paddy fields made possible by the water collected behind the Lahata dam. Almost all of the rice farmers in the village are under contract with this agency which provides them with seeds, advice credit and a marketplace. . .but no real education.

The observations and interviews were hampered at Lataha by the extreme reluctance of the people to cooperate (only 17 interviews were completed). The chiefs and village notables were noticeably less than enthusiastic in their reception of the research team, providing them with very poor lodging and food which was either spoiled or ill-prepared. The reasons for this reception were varied. Among them, however, one may note that the Senoufo culture is a very closed social system which places a very high importance on initiation rites for entry into the social community. As a result, there is an extreme reticence in talking about village life, no doubt for fear that the interviewer may direct the discussion toward a taboo topic. This was also the only village where the researchers failed to make an initial site visit to inform the village officials in advance of the researcher's intentions. The Senoufo society requires a long lead time for any anthropological or sociological study which the 15 days spent at the village could hardly provide. It was the only village where the introduction of the researchers to the village chiefs was made by an administrative official, the General Secretary of the regional headquarters of the single official political party. Such an official introduction was doubly problematic for not only did it imply that the research being conducted was hardly disinterested but also it provoked the fear on the part of some villagers that the researchers themselves might be government officials. Even in the absence of such an official introduction, the interviewers depended upon the teachers in the school for introductions to the villagers. In a village such as Lataha, where public acceptance of modern schooling is minimal (only 15-20

percent of the school age children are actually enrolled), resistance to the interview situation may parallel the resistance to modern education.

The flow of information in the village. The initial information provided by the village chief to the district chiefs on the program of nonformal education did not prove to be a very effective means for getting the information to the public. Since the school as an institution was not fully accepted by the village elders, it is hardly surprising that the information they passed along regarding the Télé pour Tous meetings was barely adequate. As a result the animator relied upon a process of regularly informing a village merchant, who himself was a regular viewer and whose openness to the outside world gave him an important place in the community, and an assistant chief of the village whose family lineage was superior to that of the village chief. There was also some collaboration with the field agent of SODERIZ, who received official designation as an observer for the Télé pour Tous impact study and who was supposed to invite the farmers he worked with and translate the broadcasts. Finally, the animator sent messages home with his pupils. Because of the lack of value given to modern schooling in the North, this practice was less effective than we have seen in the other villages for providing reminders of the broadcast meetings. Moreover, the rigidly held age hierarchy adhered to by the Senoufo culture makes young children very poor channels for transmitting information to their elders.

Factors influencing attendance at the Télé pour Tous meetings. In Lataha, there was no regular viewing group as we witnessed in Taki Salekro. In fact, the very location of the Télé pour Tous meetings at the school raised the most severe obstacles to attendance. Here is the most extreme case of the basic incompatibility of rural animation working within the school setting.

Because the village society is run as a strict gerontocracy, having the animator be both young and an outsider simultaneiously broke two of the most

cherished societal rules: perogative of the eldest and autonomy. If school (and TV) are for children, they can not possibly be also for adults. The regular broadcast time is likewise incompatible with the typical Senoufo day. These people tend to spend long evenings of social drinking prior to a very late evening meal (10 p.m. being not at all atypical). Moreover, other social rituals (such as funeral rites) constantly interrupt the daily life and have top priortiy in the minds of the villagers.

Despite the cool reception to the researchers, their first observation of a broadcast session was interpreted as an official occasion for all the village chiefs to attend. This official attendance was never repeated during the remainder of the study.

The operation of a typical broadcast session. In Lataha, as in the other villages, the same old problem arose of how to deal with the children who invariably congregate whenever the television is turned on. Here, the animator felt that he maintained more control over their behavior if he kept them in the classroom. Thus, over 90 percent of the people in the room were children. They filled up the entire classroom, leaving only a single bench at the rear of the room for adults. Perhaps because the television was so attractive to the children, the medium itself had exactly the opposite effect for the adults in the village. One month prior to the observations, Tēlé pour Tous had broadcast a series of films on the production of cotton which had been requested by the agricultural agency for the development of cotton (CIDT). Not one of the people interviewed in Lataha could recall those programs. By contrast, the same films had been shown in a mobile-car unit set up in the principle street in the village. At these showings, there was a full-house of adult viewers. Apparently, the television medium itself, and its reputation as a means of teaching children, stands in the way of successful utilization for teaching adults in a community like Lataha.

The young animator at Lataha is Dioula and, therefore, not at all integrated into community life. Translation of the program itself is done by the observer (the agricultural field agent for SODERIZ), who also helped the animator direct the discussion even though he had not participated in a training session to teach him how the discussions should be led. Since the Dioula language is understood by the Senoufo, the discussions were conducted in the two languages, each individual speaking his native tongue.

The public at Lataha is truely a bad audience--not that they react poorly to the situation but that they do not react at all. Faced with a silent group of people, the first reaction of the animators is to order some response--a technique which immediately puts the young animator in a dominant (teacher) role and his older audience in a subordinate (pupil) role. In itself, this is a serious breech of tradition for these people. An even greater violation of the rules of the society is the animator's invitation for all to speak (even the youngest members of the audience) before the elders have had their say, and to ask the younger members of the audience to correct or complete the responses of their elders. Perfectly valid animation techniques, but unforgiveable breeches of social etiquette for these people, this only illustrates how distant from the social realities of the village the techniques of animation of nonformal education really are.

Acceptance of the televised model. Here, as in other villages, we found a difference between the animator and the audience as to the ultimate purpose of the broadcasts. For the animator, the point of the broadcast message was to encourage the villagers to act like the models presented in the programs. For the villagers, the point was to be like the villages portrayed: for example, the villagers wanted Lataha to be given official designation as a Sous-Prefecture (an administrative center) which, they feel, will give their village the importance needed to have the government come in and build roads,

improve housing and sanitation facilities, etc. Rather than concentrating on decisions which could be made within the context of the village, the villagers used the discussion (and the presence of the research team) as an opportunity to express their annoyance at not being given official entry into the modern state by the government. In point of fact, the young adults in attendance had no political power within the village, and could not have made decisions concerning the future activities of the village if they had wanted to. By placing the blame for the lack of movement toward modernization on the central government, these young adults were only mirroring their actual political impotence within their own community. The modern facilities illustrated by the programs were accepted; the modern political activity which the program advocated to achieve these facilities was not.

Village Four: Zirifla

Zirifla is located in Gouro country, in the central-western part of the Ivory Coast. The population of about 1,500 people (50 percent men, 50 percent women) is organized into three districts. Within one of the Gouro districts are subcommunities of outsiders grouped by families (Dioula, who have lived in the village for 70 years, and Mossi, who have arrived in recent years). This is the least modern of all the villages observed. The village has not yet been subdivided into building plots. There is only one well which does not provide enough water during the dry season. It is then reserved for the use of the teachers in the village and the women villagers must carry water from sources further and further from the village as the dry season progresses. The lack of water is seen by the villagers as the most severe problem they face. Their economy is based upon the sale of foodstuffs (rice and yams primarily; corn and peanuts secondarily) in neighboring marketplaces. However, the road linking the village to these seasonal markets is, for all practical purposes, impassable during the rainy season.

Economic production is based upon the extended family. Adult males do not gain independence from their families (i.e. obtain their own parcel of land to cultivate) until they are 25 to 30 years old. Some traditional forms of cooperation among villagers do exist: the "klala" which is a yearly and reciprocal gathering to accomplish large tasks such as the harvest, and the "bo" at which one farmer invites his neighbors to come for a short period of time to help in some project, paying them in board and with a gift at the end. While the agricultural agency for developing cotton cultivation has some activity here, it is most successful with the Dioula living in the village.

As in Lataha, the social structure is based upon the rule of the elders. However, in Zirifla, there is no centralized structure of political power. Village meetings are attended by the elders (men and women) of all the lineages in the village; but there is considerable distrust and little cooperation crossing family lines. Individual attempts to launch some sort of cooperative movement are viewed with skepticism and seen as attempts for personal advancement. Thus, the socio-political power base is truely familial and sentiment about village politics is essentially anarchistic.

The flow of information in the village. As in our other cases, the original source of information regarding Télé pour Tous was presented via traditional channels. The president of the association for parents of school children asked the nominal village chief to convene a meeting of the elders. Thereafter, the animator asked the town crier to announce Télé pour Tous meetings the evening of each broadcast. This practice was not continued by the second animator who took over during the second year. Whatever the real source of information, the official town meeting, direct invitation by the animator, the town crier or public rumor, the people most often cited the noise and activity around the schoolyard as their reason for attending a broadcast session. Generally, the

attitude of the public considered everything about the meetings, from the information source, to the broadcasts themselves, to the interview being conducted by the present researchers, as of little interest or importance. Open derision was not uncommon.

Here, even more than elsewhere, news from the outside reached the people not via diffusion from a centralized information source but via the radio. About 70 percent of those questioned admitted having ready access to a radio. A more recent influence in the village are the elected representatives of the single political party. Still following family lineage, these represetatives are nevertheless younger and elected on the basis of their competence in serving as links to the external world. While their political power remains limited, they are becoming respected as a source of information particularly for events impinging upon the village from the outside.

Factors influencing attendance at the Télé pour Tous meetings. The integration of the school teachers into village life was relatively good. The director of the school has lived in the village for many years and the present animator came from a neighboring village. The teachers have numerous social contacts with the villagers, usually involving drinking, and are sometimes asked to give additional information about the TV broadcasts or to read letters. However, the social structure of the entire village, which is based on a refusal to acknowledge any intellectual ability on the part of anyone outside the family for fear of placing oneself in an inferior position, makes acceptance of such aid from the teachers very hard for the villagers.

As in so many cases with young teachers serving in rural areas, these village schools are their first assignments. Professionally, the teachers have no desire to continue their careers in the rural area and merely accept these assignments to prove themselves capable of assuming teaching responsibilities in a city school as soon as an opening comes up. Professional success for a

teacher in the Ivory Coast is marked by movement to the city. True integration into the community life of a rural village is inconsistent with the image of a successful teacher that they have.

Despite the relatively good rapport between teachers and villagers in Zirifla, here, more than in the other villages, the physical presence of the school causes uncertainties in the minds of the villagers. Since there is so little modern construction in the village, the school building stands out as foreign. The villagers often express the physical distance of the school from their homes as a reason for not attending the sessions of Télé pour Tous, but psychological distance is probably equally important. Among the four villages, it was only in Zirifla that the villagers expressed the opinion that calling the meetings in a locale other than the school would allow them the possibility of selecting their "own animator". And while they expressed their sentiments in terms of having a television available "in the village," it is highly likely that their "own animator" would have to come from their "own family", much in the same way that they have their "own party delegate."

As in Lataha, here the socio-cultural tradition of rule by family elders led to the opinion on the part of the villagers that if school was for children, then it was no place for adults. At best the presence of children at the meetings was an annoyance. At worst, the presence of adults in a child's domain (i.e. school) put them at the mercy of a child's insults. As a result, most adults in the community were detered from attending. Only the young men, many of whom had not yet achieved economic independence, were present.

The operation of a typical broadcast session. The animator did not give a simultaneous translation to the broadcast but rather summarized it at the end. He contrasted the village illustrated in the broadcast with Zirifla and threw it open to the audience asking them how this could happen in Zirifla. The villagers

immediately pounced upon the opportunity (and the presence of the foreign researchers) to insist that if the central government would only intervene with aid, all could be accomplished. The animator closed the session by trying to recast this village attitude into the one proposed by the broadcast, that is, participation in development through action in order to achieve the benefits of such development. However, the attitude that the central government must give them the means to accomplsih all these things was not easily dispelled.

Acceptance of the televised message. Externally, the villagers accept modernization of their village, that is, they accept the modern facilities shown on the broadcasts. However, they miss the political message that the potential for achieving these results lies in their own effort. The villagers tend to blame all their ills on external factors: the lack of sufficient water during the dry season; the lack of money associated with changing needs (needs changing faster than income); their rural isolation which makes commerce difficult: political mismanagement of others in the community leading to failure of the cooperative movement. The television broadcasts apparently do little to persuade them of their own control of their destiny. They see modernization and the benefits of development as originiating from outside.

Summary of the Impact of the Television Message

Of the 168 people surveyed in the four villages, 128 had seen Télé pour Tous at least once. Since the interviewees were hand-picked for having shown some interest in the broadcast, this proportion of spectators to non-spectators has no meaning in terms of the total populations. It is probably safe to say that less than 5 percent of the total population in these four villages had ever seen a Télé pour Tous broadcast. It is also safe to say that, in general, these spectators had no social or political power in their villages.

In the interview, the villagers were asked to recall three different

facets of the Télé pour Tous broadcasts: what the program they had seen was about; an image they had seen; and a piece of advice given by the program. Of the 128 spectators who had seen at least one program, 112 could recall at least one content item; 76 could recall an image; and 76 could recall a piece of advice. Half of the time, the images accompanied recall of the pedagogical point or counsel they illustrated and half of the time the images were recalled in absence of their illustrative value.

Three different kinds of reactions to the televised message were evidenced by the villagers interviewed:

(1) The content was seen as applicable to the village situation, especially in matters of health or agriculture. However, it was also the case that many individuals accepted the truth value of the broadcast as a documentary (this is how things can be done) rather than advice to them personally (this is how you should do them).

(2) The content was seen as theoretically possible, or even desirable, but practically beyond the reach of the villagers mostly due, in their opinion, to lack of money, land, or of sophistocated enough direction within the village.

(3) The content was refused outright because it basically is antithetical to the traditional values held by the culture, or because it requires a change in social organization, or because things have never been done that way (i.e., it is new).

In all four villages, the predominant reaction of those interviewed leads one to believe that the people are not opposed to change per se. This relative openness to change is more true in villages where the modernization process has already begun: where there has already been a significant intrusion of external economic system (commerce) and social institutions (school). Even in the more traditional villages, we have seen a willingness to consume the benefits of modernization, but not the political values, as is shown by the

attitude of the villagers who are waiting for the central government to recognize them and do something for them.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In all four villages observed, there was very little organized effort to make sure that the villagers knew about the occurrence of the Télé pour Tous broadcasts and understood the scope and reasons for this program of nonformal education. In all cases, the animator relied upon traditional means of informing the populace--a meeting called by the village chief sanctioning the beginning of the sessions. However, there was seldom any follow-up coming through the traditional channels of communication. Similarly, there was seldom any supplemental information about Télé pour Tous arriving in the village through modern channels of information. In particular, an advertising campaign via radio might have given the program of nonformal education the importance it lacked for those people sensitive to events in the world outside the village. Though formally a policy of the agency for nonformal education, collaboration with field workers of other agencies for rural animation, either for informing the public about the sessions or to aid in the actual animation of them, was seldom achieved.

Most of the animators observed were poorly prepared to animate the sessions. Some had obviously not read or completely misunderstood the documents which had been sent to them. In no case was there any evidence of their seeking out supplemental information, either about the village they were serving or about the other agencies present in the village which could be of service in the animation task. All too often, animation became academic. With formal or informal community leaders either absent or held in check, the animators soon fell into the patterns and techniques they used to teach elementary school children.

In all four villages, the context of the school setting did not provide a situation which paralleled the normal mode of decision-making in the village. In no case was there a regular attendance of the meetings by people of social or

political responsibility, in either the traditional or the modern sense. Moreover, the kinds of discussion advocated by the animation techniques of nonformal education have been seen to negate the traditional modes of exchange under which village decisions are made. The young male adults who frequented the Télé pour Tous broadcasts were politically impotent; they could not have made village decisions and initiated village action if they had wanted to. And for those people having real power in the village, Télé pour Tous was considered merely a diversion, not to be taken seriously.

All in all, the use of the schools as a locale for the meetings and the use of school teachers as animators more than anything else insured the failure of the program as a model of community activation for innovation or development. As a member of the school institution, the teacher in the rural regions of the Ivory Coast is seen as an agent having administrative power over his domain, the school, but nothing more. Teachers do not mediate for the village to authorities in the central government (village chiefs, party delegates, even merchants perform that function). Teachers are not sought out as sources of information except in rare cases. They rarely venture beyond their own domain. Their community is the academic community, one which points them toward the city not toward rural problems and life. Many times they failed to carry-out their instructions as animators simply because they did not have the political clout to do so in the villages. They are distant from the decision-makers in the village and most often distant from the population at large.

The ideology espoused by the agency for nonformal education is that rural people must participate, must actively integrate themselves into the modern world. Economic and social interventions are seen as unavoidable if the country as a whole is to develop. So although the traditional world will be necessarily traumatized, rural people must pull themselves through it all. Since change is inevitable, rural people must dictate the specific course of this change for themselves. However, this policy assumes that allrural people are equal and sets

forth models for imitation which follow this assumption. In reality, however, all rural people are not equal. Their society is highly hierarchized; it is probably much easier for villagers to treat the central government as yet another group of elders than to assume responsibility for decision-making and innovative activity themselves. While Tele pour Tous puts emphasis on the local effort needed for development, the villagers most often perceive only the benefits, and the need for some external force to erase the insurmountable obstacles they see blocking their own success in achieving these material benefits.

Until the television programs reach those in the village who have the social or political power needed to make decisions or initiate activities (thus integrating its policy with traditional socio-cultural structures of the villages) or until encroaching modernization allows the rise of a new power structure along with the traditional one, Télé pour Tous broadcasts will remain but a marginal force in the task of rural animation.

FOOTNOTES

1. cf. Guy Belloncle, "Niger, Animation rurale et alphabetisation," in Croissance de Jeunes Nations, No. 120, February 1972, and David Hapgood, "Rural Animation in Senegal," in International Development Review, Vol. 6, September 1974.
2. cf. Albert Meister, "Développment communautaire et animation rurale en Afrique, " in Homme et la Société, No. 18, December 1970.
3. These include:

   SATMACI - the Company of Technical Assistance for the Modernization of Agriculture in the Ivory Coast; concerned with the cultivation of coffee and cacao

   SODEPALM - the Company for the Development and Exploitation of Palm Oil; concerned with the cultivation of palms and coconuts

   CIDT - the Company for the Development of Textile Fibers of the Ivory Coast; concerned with the cultivation of cotton

   SODEFEL - the Company for the Development of Fruits and Vegetables; concerned with the cultivation of all fruits and vegetables

   SODERIZ - the Company for the Development of Rice Cultivation; concerned with the cultivation and commercialization of irrigated and paddyfield rice

   SOCESUCRE -the Company for the Development of Sugar

   SODEHEVEA -the Company for the Development of Livestock
4. In particular, SODERIZ and CIDT have modified their programs of intervention to include a larger field of activity.
5. cf. Howard J.C. Elliott, Animation rurale and encadrement technique in the Ivory Coast. Center for Research on Economic Development, University of Michigan, 1974.